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CHAPTER V

KINSHIP

I

THE BASIC STRUCTURE OF CLASS SYSTEMS IN AUSTRALIA AND MELANESIA

N.B.—In this and subsequent sections on Kinship use will be made of the following symbols current in anthropological literature :

F = Father or Father's.
M = Mother or Mother's.
S = Son or Son's.
D = Daughter or Daughter's.
Ch = Child or Child's.
B = Brother or Brother's.
eB = elder Brother or Brother's.
yB = younger Brother or Brother's.
Sis = Sister or Sister's.
eSis = elder Sister or Sister's.
ySis = younger Sister or Sister's.
W = Wife or Wife's.
H = Husband or Husband's.

Thus :
MB = Mother's brother.
MBW = Mother's brother's wife.
SisS = Sister's son.
FSisD = Father's sister's daughter.
MBD = Mother's brother's daughter.
MMBDD = Mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
HyB = Husband's younger brother.

Terms such as Aunt, Uncle, Grandfather, Grandmother are not used, as they are applicable to more than one kind of relative.

m.s. = man speaking.
w.s. = woman speaking.

Thus :
B (m.s.) indicates the term used by a man for his brother.
B (w.s.) indicates the term used by a woman for her brother.

♂ = male.
♀ = female.

IN Chapter III, I have given an account of the overt social organisation of the island so far as my information goes, and we have seen in Chapter IV the stories of origin and such details as I was able to record of the natives' own accounts regarding subsequent historical develop-

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is equivalent to the Banks Islands (Mota) *sogoi* used for the members of a man's own matrilineal moiety. As opposed to this, however, the overt social organisation of Vao is, as we have seen, now patrilocal.

This being the case, we have the interesting phenomenon of a kinship terminology based on overt matrilineal descent surviving in an area that is now overtly patrilocal, thus affording a rare opportunity for the study of change arising from this circumstance. This chapter consists of an attempt to trace the course of this change by, in the first place, determining the type of system that gave rise to the terminology and, in the second place, discovering as far as possible the mechanism by means of which this system was transformed into the existing organisation based on the patrilocal clans described in Chapter III.

I

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

(Recorded from Ma-taru, belonging to the refugee community of Tolamp, with the aid of the genealogy given in Table X, in which will be found all relatives mentioned by name in the text.)

Te (term of address)
Tete
Temak [1] } terms of reference } F, FB, MSisH.

These are the terms for father, father's brother and mother's sister's husband. *Te* is used in address. Its reduplication, *tete*, is the usual familiar term of reference. A man will say "*tete e me Togh-vanu*," "my father comes from *Togh-vanu*." *Tete* has no possessive suffix, from which it will be seen that it was probably in the first place, like *te*, a term of address. In cases of great stress, however, the possessive pronoun *nanuk* may be added. Thus, on the death of a man's father, the son may cry out "*tete nanuk*," "my father." [2]

Temak carries the possessive suffix, declined in the usual way, *-k*, representing the 1st person singular. This term is used in ordinary conversation if the relationship is to be emphasised, or in speaking to a stranger. Thus, if a stranger asks a man "Who is this?" he will reply with the term "*temak*," "my father."

The reciprocal term is *natuk*, "child."

Mbembe (term of address)
Mbambeahu
Tinak [3] } terms of reference } M, MSis; FSis; MBW, FBW.

[1] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun. In all cases in this list, terms taking this suffix will be given in the 1st person singular.

[2] Godefroy says that the term *tete* is applied to what he terms the "legal" father, i.e. the mother's brother, and that the real father is more often addressed by name (see p. 180).

[3] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun.

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These are the terms for mother, mother's sister, father's sister, mother's brother's wife and father's brother's wife, and are used in the same way respectively as the three terms for father.

The word *mbembe* is related to the verb *mpep*, "to carry," used of carrying a load on the back, and also to "bear," i.e. to "carry" a child, whether before or after birth. A woman with child is called *vene mbamb*. *Mbembe* also means "womb." [1] This is the usual term of address.

Mbambeahu is the same word with the addition of the 1st person singular possessive suffix *-ahu*, and is declined.

Tinak, with the 1st person singular possessive suffix *-k*, also declined, is used in emphasis, or to strangers.

The reciprocal term is *natuk*, "child."

Tutu (term of address) } eB (m.s.), eSis (w.s.); also elder parallel
Toghak [2] (term of reference) } cousins on both sides; HeB; eBW (m.s.) (also called *ne-netun tutu*); FFF (m. and w.s.); FFM (m.s.) (also called *tete tumbun*).

Tehik [2] (term of address and reference). yB (m.s.), ySis (w.s.); also younger parallel cousins on both sides; HyB; yBW (m.s.) (also called *ne-netun-tehik*); SSS (m.s.) (also called *netun mambik*).

Tutu (or *toghak*) and *tehik* are terms used respectively for elder and younger brother, or elder and younger sister, primarily by persons of the *same* sex. The terms are extended in the classificatory sense to include the father's brother's child and the mother's sister's child, i.e. to parallel cousins on both sides.[3]

The distinction between elder and younger depends in this case on the actual ages of the speakers, and not on that of their parents.[4]

These terms are also used by persons of the *opposite* sex, before the marriage of the sister, or after her marriage when questions of age make the distinction useful, since the term used for the brother-sister relationship, *hogutuk*, makes no distinction between elder and younger.

A wife will also call her husband's brothers by these terms (and not by the brother-sister term *hogutuk*), "because this is what her husband calls them."

The reciprocal term used by a man for his brother's wife may be *tutu* (if she is older) or *tehik* (if she is younger), but is more usually *ne-netun*

[1] Cf. Mota *vove*, Motlav *vov*, meaning "matrilineal moiety" (Codrington, 3, pp. 25 ff.). *Vove* is also used as a verb, "to call mother." Mota *pepe* means "to carry a child on the back or astride on the hip" (Codrington, 2).

[2] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun.

[3] Cross-cousins, on the other hand, are called by descriptive terms based on the term *soguk*, used by a man both for his mother's brother and his father's sister's husband. Thus, the mother's brother's son is called *netun soguk*, and the father's sister's son is called *sogun tete* (see under *Soguk*, p. 131).

[4] Thus while Ter-ter-mal calls his elder brother Melteg-mal *tutu*, Ma-taru, son of the younger brother, calls Vago-lili, son of the elder brother, *tehik*, since of the two Ma-taru was born first.

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tutu or *ne-netun tehik*. *Ne-netun* is a familiar word connected with *natun* meaning "child" (3rd pers. sing.) but with the secondary connotation of "little" used in an affectionate or playful sense. A man thus refers to his brother's wife as "little (elder or younger) sister," a form of address which carries with it no kinship significance, but falls into line with what we should call the "baby" name used by a man for his own wife, namely *na-natuk* "the my-child."[1] (See p. 130.)

These terms are also used by the wives of those originally entitled to use this form of address. Thus:

Le-si (Ma-taru's wife) calls Le-sevak HFBSW(e) *tutu* or *ne-netun tutu*
" " Le-tambe " (y) *tehik* or *ne-netun tehik*

One of the outstanding features of the kinship system is that the terms *tutu* (or *toghak*) and *tehik* are applied not only between persons of the same generation. The terms *tutu* and *toghak* (elder brother) are also applied to the father's father's father, also called sometimes by the descriptive term *tete tumbun*, "my father's grandfather," and the term *tehik* (younger brother) is applied by a man to his son's son's son, sometimes also called *netun mambik*, "my small grandson" in the sense of "my grandson's son." Thus:

Wale-kobu calls Te-lugh-lugh FFF (m.s.) *tutu*
Te-lugh-lugh " Wale-kobu SSS (m.s.) *tehik*

Hogotuk.[2] B (w.s.), Sis (m.s.); HSisH.

The term *hogotuk* is a reciprocal one denoting the brother-sister relationship, but is used only after the sister's marriage. Before the sister's marriage, or even after it when it is necessary to distinguish between elder and younger, the terms *tutu* or *toghak* (elder) and *tehik* (younger), normally used between persons of the same sex, are also used by men and women standing in the brother-sister relation to one another.

These women reciprocate, calling the men *hogotuk* or else *tutu* or *tehik* according to which is the older.

The term is also used by a woman for her husband's sister's husband, both real and classificatory, though the husband himself uses towards this man a special reciprocal term *tahuk*.

Like *tutu* and *tehik*, the term *hogotuk* is also used between certain persons of the opposite sex three generations apart.[3]

[1] Compare *netin na-mborav*, meaning "sow's young," used of tusked boars born of a sow reared by the owner (see p. 242).

[2] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun.

[3] Details are unfortunately lacking as to precisely which relatives three generations apart are so addressed.

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601 **Natuk.**[1] S, D; BS, BD (m. and w.s.); SisS (w.s.) (also *netun tutu, netun tehik, netun hogotuk*); W.

Natuk is the term for offspring. A son may be particularly referred to as *natuk namere*, "male child," and a daughter as *natuk vavine*, "female child." These longer terms may be used in address if a girl and a boy are present at the same time and it is necessary to distinguish between them.

The terms are used for their children by both parents, and are employed by both of them also for all those individuals standing in the next generation on either side of the family, always excepting the man's special relation with his sister's child and his wife's brother's child, for whom he employs the reciprocal term *soguk*. Even these children, however, are called *natuk* by his wife. In this extended sense, the term *natuk* is interchangeable with the terms *netun tutu*, "little elder brother," and *netun tehik*, "little younger brother" (m.s.), or *netun hogotuk*, "little brother" (w.s.), each of which in fact means "(elder or younger) brother's child."[2]

The term *natuk* is also one of those used reciprocally between husband and wife. This is almost due clearly to identification with their children and cannot in this sense be counted as a kinship term.

In a still more extended way it is used to include both parents and children. Thus, *M. men na natun* means "M. and his family."

Bumbu (term of address)
Tumbuk[3] (term of reference) FF, FM, MF, MM; HF, HM; HFF, HFM.
Mambik.[3] SS, SD, DS, DD; SSW.

The terms *bumbu* and *tumbuk* are used for all grandparents. The reciprocal term for all grandchildren is *mambik*.

The terms are also used of the grandparents of the husband (for those of the wife I have no record).

The terms *bumbu* and *tumbuk* are also used by a wife for her husband's parents (but not by a husband for his wife's parents). The reciprocal term in this case is *vinguk*.

Vavine nanuk. W, WSis.

This is the term for wife and wife's sister and means literally "my woman."

The wife is in practice called by a variety of names, most usual among which is *natuk*, "my child," or by the actual name of her child itself.

[1] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun.

[2] The process is carried so far as to apply this term to the second husband of a woman originally married to one to whom the term applied during his lifetime. Thus:

Ma-taru calls Naleli FBSSWandH(m.s.) *natuk* or *netun tutu*
I.e-si " " HFBSSWandH " " "

[3] Takes the suffixed possessive pronoun.

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Or she may be called *tine natuk*, "my child's mother," [1] or even "M.'s mother," where M. is the name of her child. She and her sisters in general are also frequently referred to as *natuk tinar*, "my child's mothers."

(**Husband.**)

I recorded no direct word for husband, save the familiar *natuk* due to identification with the children, which cannot be reckoned as a kinship term. He is also addressed by the descriptive terms *teme natuk* or *natuk taman*, both of which mean "my child's father."

The husband's brothers, own and classificatory, are called *tutu* or *tehik*, "elder (younger) brother," terms which are anomalous not only because this is the only case in which they are not reciprocal, but because there is a definite prohibition against using the usual word for brother (woman speaking), which is *hogotuk*.

Tahuk.[2] WB, SisH (m.s.).

This is a reciprocal term used between a man and his wife's brother, both in the own and in the classificatory sense.

Ravak.[2] HSis, BW (w.s.).

This is the corresponding term to the above, being that used between a woman and her husband's sister, real and classificatory.

Soguk.[3] MB; SisCh. (m.s.); FSisH; WBCh.

This is the reciprocal term used between mother's brother and sister's child (m.s.).[3]

It is also used reciprocally between father's sister's husband and wife's brother's child.

The mother's brother's child and the father's sister's child are called respectively by descriptive terms referring to the *soguk* relationship. The mother's brother's son is thus called *netun soguk*, "my little maternal uncle," and the father's sister's son is called *sogun tete*.

Pelegak.[4] WF, WM; DH (m. and w.s.).

This is the reciprocal term for wife's parents and daughter's husband

[1] Compare the Banks Islands custom according to which a man frequently refers to his wife as "the mother of his child" (Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 41).

[2] Takes the suffixed personal pronoun.

[3] Godefroy says that the term of address, *tete*, usually used for "father," is here used by a child for its mother's brother, whom he refers to as the "legal father" (see p. 127). The word *soguk* (3rd pers. sing. *sogon*) is akin to the Mota and Motlav word *sogoi*, there used among one another by members of the same matrilineal moiety, called "side of the house" (Codrington, 3, pp. 25, 35 ff.). As a verb it means "to be one of the same" (Codrington, 2). See also p. 126.

[4] Takes the suffixed personal pronoun. It is related to the Mota *qaliga*, which "embraces all of the other side of the house [i.e. matrilineal moiety] who have been brought near to one another by marriage" (Codrington, 3, p. 37).

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601 (but not for the husband's parents and son's wife, who are called respectively *bumbu* and *vinguk*).

Though the son's wife's parents are called by the descriptive name of *pelegen natuk*, the daughter's husband's parents are called *natuk tumbun*, or *tumbun natuk*, "my child's grandparents."

Vinguk.[1] SW (m. and w.s.).

This is a special term for the son's wife (m. and w.s.), own and classificatory. The reciprocal term is *bumbu*, normally used for grandparents.

General Terms

There are certain other terms of a more general character than any of the above, used to denote wider groups of relatives. These are:

Verik.

This term is a reciprocal one, and can be used either alone or with the possessive pronoun *naghak*, e.g. *verik naghak*, "my *verik*." I was first told that it applied to all persons of both sexes who are more than three generations removed from the speaker. The only concrete example I obtained with the aid of my informant's genealogy (Table X) was that the term was used between the boy Ni-sel (2) and the couple heading the genealogy, namely Te-lugh-lugh and Legter-melteg-mal, who stand to him in the relationship of father's mother's father's parents. Of these, the FMFM, according to both interpretations of the kinship system given below, occupies the same position as Ni-sel's own sister, and is thus seen to belong to his own kinship section.[2]

Na-hal, halak, halar.

The word *hal* means "road" or "path." *Na* is the indefinite particle, which is also sometimes prefixed to *halak* and *halar*, which are the same word *hal* with suffixed possessive pronoun (1st person singular and plural

[1] Takes the suffixed personal pronoun.

[2] This term *verik* is clearly the same as the North Ambrim *verachei* meaning "kinship section" (see p. 121), and the South Raga *berek*. The same word appears in the groups called *verana* (1st pers. sing. *veraku*) in North Raga, which Rivers describes as groups within the matrilineal moieties which at the same time appear to be localised but of which he was unable to discover the exact nature. These groups appear to have certain elements in common with the Vao "lines." Thus in the first place the FF is sometimes called "man of my *verana*," thus corresponding with the "line" grouping on Vao. In the second place it is said that "formerly all property belonged to the *verana*," a special case cited being canoes. As will be seen later (see p. 462), canoes are in Vao owned also by "lines." (See Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 190, 195, 209; vol. II, pp. 74, 81, 146, 149.)

Compare Mota *verig*, of which Codrington (2) says "a man gives this word for his name, instead of it, not being willing to name himself."

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respectively). *Halak* therefore means "my road," and *halar* "our roads." These are the reciprocal terms used between a man and all his relatives by marriage, irrespective of the term by which these should individually be called. The terms have reference to the many times a man travels the road to his wife's people, bringing the endless customary gifts which it is his duty to render.[1]

Being a collective term, it is usually used in the plural. If a man sees all the people of his wife's village coming, he will say, "There are my *halar* (in this case used as a plural) coming." It can also, however, be used in the singular. As my informant put it to me, "If a man asks me, 'Why do you give so many presents to this man?', and I am too lazy to explain that he is my *tahuk* (wife's brother) or *pelegak* (wife's father), I will just say, 'Because he is my *halak*' (road)."

Although the word *halak* may sometimes be used in address, particularly to the daughter's husband (man or woman speaking), who is less important than parents-in-law, it is usual when addressing particular individuals to use the correct term for the relationship in question.

That the literal meaning of the term is present in the minds of the natives is clear from the fact that the only member of the wife's village to whom it can never be applied is the wife's own mother, regarding whom the rules of avoidance cited below (p. 135) preclude the possibility of this individual being regarded, or spoken of, as "my road."

Woroan.

This term, already met with in connexion with the Women's Lodges mentioned on p. 73, is the nominal form of the verb *wor*, "to be born," a word also used in Ambrim for "marriage section," where, according to Deacon, it is equivalent to the word *verachei*, which, as mentioned in the footnote to p. 132, corresponds to the Vao *verik*. There can be little doubt, however, that on Ambrim as on Vao the two words must refer to different though probably allied groups. The Vao evidence as I recorded it is conflicting.

On the one hand, the uses of the word *woroan* recorded on pages 74 and 138 suggest that, like the Ambrim *wor*, it is equivalent to "marriage section," called in pidgin-English a "line."

According to one statement, however, all women are divided from the male point of view into two groups, respectively called *vene na woroan* and *vene na laghean*. *Vene* means "woman," and the word *laghean* is the

[1] The corresponding Mota word is *gasala*, which Codrington translates "fellow-wayfarers," and is there applied to one another by parents whose children have intermarried (Codrington, 3, p. 37). In Seniang, however, the word *hala*, also meaning "path," is used in a very different way, for "all members of the same generation . . . in a patrilineal descent group" (Deacon, 4, p. 75).

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nominal form of the verb *lagh*, "to marry," literally "to take." The two phrases thus mean:

(*a*) *vene na woroan*, "women of (a man's) own *woroan*";
(*b*) *vene na laghean*, "women we marry."

The explanation was that *vene na woroan* referred to women "born in the village," and *vene na laghean* referred to women married into it. The *vene na woroan* are particularly active during the mortuary rites (see Chapter XXI), when these women, who have all necessarily married into other villages, return to the village of their birth and join in a very intimate way in the ritual that takes place inside the dead man's lodge. Taken at their face value, therefore, the two phrases *vene na woroan* and *vene na laghean* would appear to be applied respectively to the women belonging to two opposed patrilineal groups.

Yet another informant told me on one occasion that the word *woroan* was applied also to three generation groups in the male line, in which

(*a*) all persons of a man's own group are called *woroan naghak*, "my *woroan*";
(*b*) all those of his children's generation group are called *woroan natuk* or *natuk woroan*, both meaning "my child's *woroan*"; and
(*c*) those of his father's generation are called *tete woroan*, "my father's *woroan*."

These groups spread, like the "lines," beyond the confines of Vao, causing, among other things, my Vao informant Ma-taru to refer to one of my Atchin informants named Mari as belonging to his (Ma-taru's) "child's *woroan*," in spite of the fact that, if anything, Mari was the elder.

As none of these statements were subsequently checked, I do not propose to use this word in the analysis of the kinship terms undertaken in this chapter.[1]

RULES OF AVOIDANCE

Younger brother's wife, son's wife and wife's parents.

We have seen on p. 128 that in Vao brothers are not all grouped together, but are divided into elder (*toghak*) and younger (*tehik*). This feature is common to all the Small Island systems, and with it goes the rule that a man may not marry his deceased younger brother's wife (*ne-natun tehik*). This prohibition is enforced by strict rules of avoidance, of

[1] Information on this point would be particularly welcome from any resident in the Islands whom this book may reach, and who has made himself familiar with the facts set out in this and the foregoing chapters.

Codefroy (1, 1933, pp. 42, 43) also mentions a term *hombombok*, which I did not record, and which he describes as being used by the members of a clan for one another, and which he translates "my relative," "my cousin." He does not know its etymology, and uses the term to translate the word "neighbour."

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which the chief is that a man and his younger brother's wife may not speak to one another, and if they meet on the road she has to turn aside to let him pass. This rule is part of the price paid by the elder brother for his superior position in a society in which primogeniture plays an important rôle, as, failing some such regulation, he might be tempted to exert his authority in a manner that would damage the solidarity of the clan. On the other hand, when the elder brother dies, his wife normally falls to the lot of the younger brother, who takes her in marriage and adopts the rôle of father towards his brother's children. This is one of the most frequent causes of polygamous marriage, and owing to this there are no rules of avoidance between a man and his elder brother's wife, even during the elder brother's lifetime.

In the same way, a man may not speak to his son's wife (*vinguk*), and if the two meet, the woman must make way for and turn her back on her husband's father lest they should view one another from too close. A somewhat similar prohibition exists also with respect to a man and his wife's mother (*pelegak*), to whom he may neither speak, nor mention her name, nor go behind her back. These two elementary restrictions are not based on the same propinquity of dwelling as is the case with a man and his younger brother's wife, and appear rather to be due to the fact that in a 4-section system of kinship, which, we have seen, forms the basis of all class systems, these two women belong to the two sections (B^1 and A^2, see Fig. 20) into which, together with his own, he may not marry.

In the rules governing a man's behaviour to his wife's mother there is also another element, namely that of respect, which he shows also to his wife's father (also called *pelegak*), whose superior position is seen in the fact that, though the two may speak, the daughter's husband may not mention his wife's father's name nor go behind his back, and in this way treats him in the same way as he treats his wife's mother.

2

IMPLICATIONS OF THE VAO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

THE 4-SECTION ELEMENT

If now we examine the kinship terminology, we find clear evidence of the existence of a class system in the large number of terminological equivalences caused by the grouping together of persons belonging to the same marriage section. Of these the simplest are:

(*a*) *tahuk*, used by a man for his WB and SisH;
(*b*) *ravak*, used by a woman for her HSis and BW;
(*c*) *soguk*, used for the MB and FSisH.

These three equivalences are common to all class systems owing to the custom of sister-exchange marriage.

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(*d*) What is, however, so far as I know, unique in this part of Melanesia is the fact that not only are the MB and FSisH called by a common term, but this term *soguk* is used also for the SisS and WBS, thus:

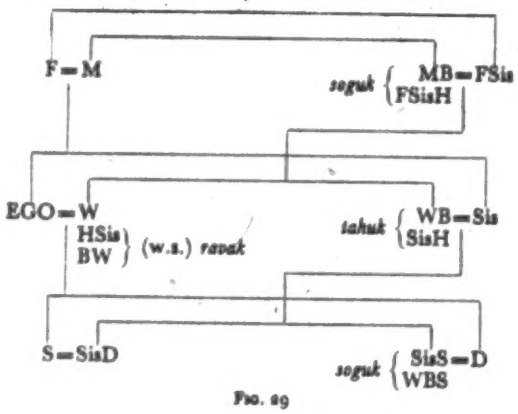

FIG. 29

These facts taken by themselves would indicate the existence of a 4-section system, as seen in Fig. 30:

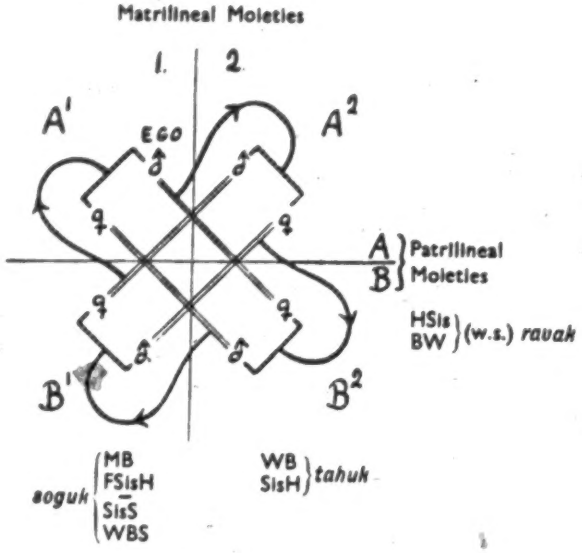

FIG. 30

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Not incompatible with this is the fact that all grandparents are referred to by one term (*tumbuk*, *bumbu* in address) and all grandchildren by another (*mambik*).

MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS

Two very definite indications, however, show that this kinship system has developed beyond the 4-section stage.

(*e*) First among these is yet another terminological equivalence, this time between the DH and WF, who in a 4-section system belong to the MB's section B^1, but are not included under the same term *soguk*, being addressed, on the contrary, by a different term, *pelegak*. This difference in terminology implies that they no longer belong to the same marriage section, and consequently that this section has become split.

Reference to Figs. 24 and 25, representing an 8-section system, and Figs. 26 to 28, representing the North Ambrim 6-section system, will show at a glance that in neither of these systems does the SisS belong to the same section as the MB, nor does the WF belong to the same section as the DH.[1] It is clear, therefore, that whatever the Vao system may be, it is not a class system belonging to either of these types.

(*f*) One very simple comparative feature makes this doubly clear, and furthermore points to the distinctive character of this system, by which it differs from all these previously recorded. It will be remembered that both types of class system just mentioned developed out of the original 4-section system by means of the sub-division of patrilineal moieties, and that while the matrilineal moieties in each case persist intact and cause a man to belong to the same marriage section as his FF and SS, the four patrilineal descent groups in an 8-section system cause a woman to belong to the same section as her MMMM and the three patrilineal descent groups in a 6-section system cause her to belong to the same section as her MMM. In other words, the number of generations separating those sociologically equivalent in the direct male line of descent results from the number of matrilineal descent groups, and in the female line from the number of patrilineal descent groups. In Ambrim the three patrilineal descent groups result not only in the equivalence of a woman with her MMM, but also in the fact that a man addresses his MMM by the same term as he addresses his sister, while the FF is called "brother."

[1] In these systems these relatives occupy the following sections:

8-Section		6-Section (Ambrim type)	
MB, FSisH, DH	B^1	MB, FSisH, DH	C^1
SisS, WBS, WF	BB^1	SisS, WBS, WF	B^1

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In the Vao system, as well as in that of all the other Small Islands, it is, on the contrary, a man's FFF whom he addresses as "elder brother" (*tutu, toghak*), and his SSS whom he calls "younger brother" (*tehik*). It will be seen from the above principle that this terminology points to the existence, formerly if not now, of three *matrilineal* descent groups (trisections) formed at some time by the bisection of one of the two matrilineal moieties, in contrast to the three *patrilineal* descent groups formed by the bisection of one of the two patrilineal moieties in Ambrim.

FORMULATION OF A 6-SECTION SYSTEM WITH MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS

According to this interpretation, those aspects of the Vao kinship terminology so far examined thus point to a 6-section system similar to that of Ambrim in the number of marriage sections, but differing from it in that the sexes are in each case reversed. Both as a partial solution of the Vao problem and for its own theoretical interest, this system is illustrated in Fig. 31, in which the unsplit patrilineal moieties are represented in two columns with their original lettering A and B, and the three matrilineal trisections are, for reasons which will be apparent later, labelled X, Y and Z.

This formulation is seen to satisfy all the requirements of the Vao kinship terminology so far mentioned, namely:

(*a*) The equivalence of the WB and SisH, both of whom are referred to by a man as *tahuk*, together with the corresponding equivalence between the BW and HSis, both of whom are referred to by a woman as *ravak*.

(*b*) The equivalence of the MB, FSisH, SisS and WBS under the common term *soguk*.

(*c*) The separation from these of the DH and WF, both of whom are referred to by a man as *pelegak*.

(*d*) The equivalence of a man with his FFF, whom he calls "elder brother" (*toghak*), and with his SSS, whom he calls "younger brother" (*tehik*).

It also agrees in certain respects, though not entirely, with the reports recorded on pp. 74, 133 of the two apparently contrary meanings of the word *woroan* as being applied both to patrilineal moieties and to matrilineal trisections. With regard to the trisections, I was told that a woman's F and HF both belong to the same *woroan*, thus agreeing with their common membership in this diagram of trisection Y.[1]

[1] The case in point was that of Le-si's father Singon-tal (see Table X), whom she calls *te*, and her husband's father Ter-ter-mal, whom she calls *bumbu*, but both of whom belong to the same *woroan*.

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It will be noted that the form of marriage which would result from such a system would, tracing descent through the male line, be that of a man with his MBSD,[1] as opposed to that found in a 6-section system

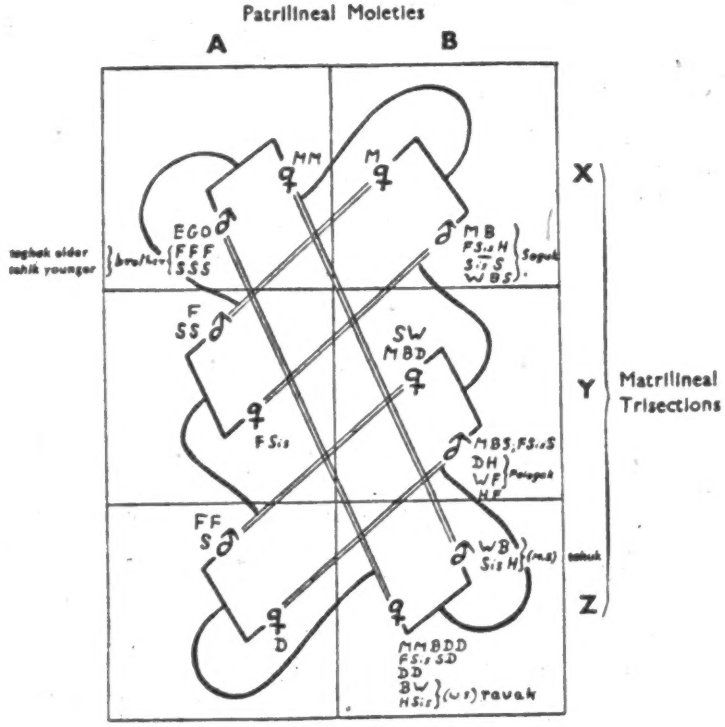

FIG. 31

6-SECTION SYSTEM (MATRILINEAL TYPE) FORMED OF MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS X, Y, Z, AND PATRILINEAL MOIETIES A, B.

Includes most important equivalences in Vao kinship terminology. Note that of a man with his FFF and SSS, causing these to call one another "elder and younger brother."

$$\delta = \begin{cases} \text{MMBDD} \\ \text{FSisSD} \\ \text{DD} \end{cases}$$

of Ambrim type, which is that of a man with his MBDD. Both these are what might be termed first cross-cousins once removed traced in opposite lines of descent.

Traced through the female line, however, it will be seen that the

[1] This woman is also his FSisSD (see Fig. 31 and p. 158).

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prescribed bride is the same as that in an 8-section system of Australian type, namely that of a man with his MMBDD, or second cross-cousin in the female line. It will be noted further that, owing to the unsplit patrilineal moieties and the consequent equivalence between a man's sister and his MM, his MMBDD is at the same time his DD, whereas in the 6- and 8-section systems above mentioned, owing to the split patrilineal moieties, she is not. This fact is of more than theoretical importance, since it agrees with the statement made by one of Rivers's informants that in North Raga, where overt descent is still matrilineal, men "married their granddaughters."[1] Deacon, judging from his experience in Ambrim, where, as he himself shows, the former system of overt matrilineal descent has already been transformed into a patrilineal one, criticised Rivers's statement, interpreting it to mean that a man marries his MBDD as he does in Ambrim.[2] But the North Raga system agrees in so many other features with that of Vao that I am inclined to believe in Rivers's interpretation that a man did in fact marry a woman who was sociologically equivalent to his DD in the sense that he took his wife from the same marriage section as that to which his DD also belonged. If we may take Rivers's informant at his word, therefore, this evidence strongly supports the partial formulation deduced from the kinship terminology of Vao set out above.

Evidence from South Raga

Yet stronger evidence than this comes from South Raga, where, as in the Small Islands, the kinship system is in a state of transition and there are now, as in Vao, six patrilocal clans one of which has an origin myth recalling that of Pete-hul, it being said that the man and woman who were the first progenitors of the clan issued from an enormous liana.[3] Here there appears also to be a conflict between the existing marriage regulations based on patrilineal trisections[4] and a former system in which the trisections were matrilineal. This former system in South Raga is enshrined in a creation myth of the utmost importance, since in it the practical results of the kinship system it describes are stated in no uncertain terms.

According to this myth,[5] the creator-deity Barkulkul is represented as being one of six brothers. By throwing a roasted chestnut at the sixth brother's genitals Barkulkul turned him into a woman. Despite this, however, this brother still appears also in the legend as a man, and all six brothers go to the woman one after the other, whereon she addresses them all by different kinship terms.

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 199.
[2] Deacon, 2, p. 327.
[3] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 388.
[4] See p. 157 below.
[5] Tattevin, 2, 1929, pp. 984-7. The full story is much longer, and contains many important details besides the kinship factor here quoted.

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AUTHOR'S ACCOUNT

584 *Betrothal. Young girl proposed for by the suitor's parents.*

It is usual for a girl to be betrothed to a man, or literally "retained" (*e tutu ghore*)[1] by him, when she is in about her sixth or seventh year. A man chooses the girl he wants to marry, but negotiations are carried out exclusively between the respective parents, the girl herself not being consulted. The proposal is made by the suitor's father or mother, one of whom goes to the girl's father and says, "Wouldn't it be a good thing if my son were to marry your daughter?" If the father agrees, an appointment is made for two or three days later, when the suitor's parents (still not the suitor himself) return, bringing with them a single pig, of any size up to that of a crescent-tusker, and ten or twenty money-mats. By this payment the girl is officially "retained." The new set of kinship terms resulting from the proposed alliance are immediately adopted, and at every subsequent feast or ceremony held in their respective villages the suitor and the girl's parents must present to one another the customary pigs, as if the girl were already married. Needless to say, the balance of gain is strongly on the side of the prospective parents-in-law.

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Bride-price.

583 When the girl has arrived at the proper age, negotiations are entered into concerning the bride-price. The pigs which the suitor proposes to pay are displayed to the girl's father, who usually objects that they are not many or good enough. The suitor then produces others. In the haggling that follows the prospective father-in-law has completely the whip-hand. If he is still dissatisfied with the proposed bride-price he will say, "Never mind, my daughter can wait," and the suitor and his family are sent scouring the country, to bargain or beg for yet further pigs from their friends. They cannot protest or threaten not to take the girl away, for they would then lose not only the pigs paid at betrothal, but also all those presented to her father at every subsequent rite.

Bride left with her husband. Payment.

585 At last the price is agreed upon, and the suitor's parents (still not the suitor himself) go to the girl's father and appoint a day when he shall come and leave his daughter with her new husband. This is called *e tulo ni*, "he conducts her." On the appointed day the girl's Lodge-brothers come to the suitor, bringing a basket of yams for each pig that is to be paid. Returning home, they oil and decorate the bride and she

[1] Compare the name of the betrothal rite recorded by Codrington from Oba and called *huhu vuhe goroe*, meaning "to give her suck with a drinking coconut and secure her" (Codrington, 3, p. 241).

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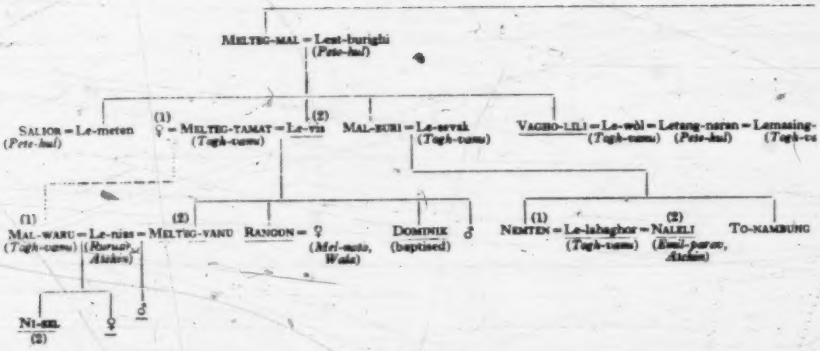

[facing p. 587 (A)]

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Genealogy of MA-TARU, bel

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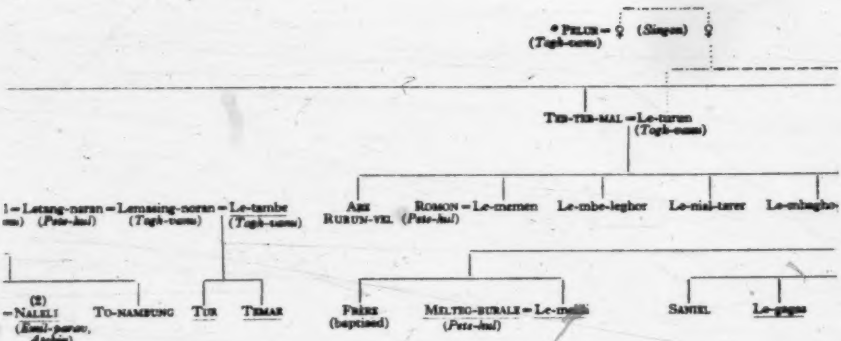

[facing p. 587 (B)]

1: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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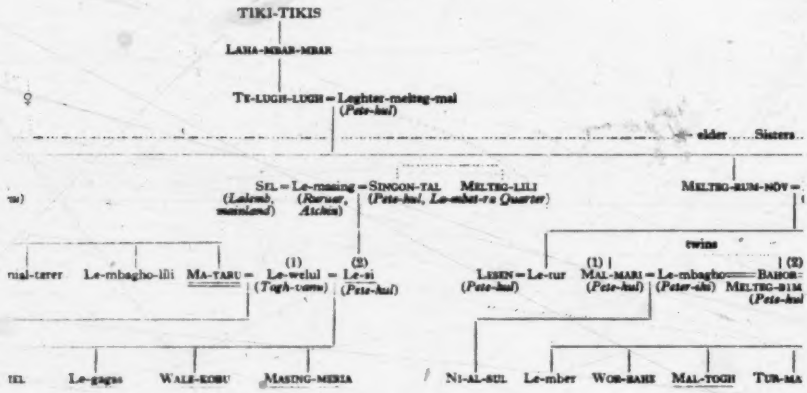
TABLE X

MA-TARU, belonging to the village of Tolamp, now settled on Vao.

in Small Type. Those alive Underlined. Villages of husbands and wives bracketed and in *Italics*.



* See Genealogy, Table II.

[facing p. 587 (c)]

1: Layard E-5 (1914-1915) 1942
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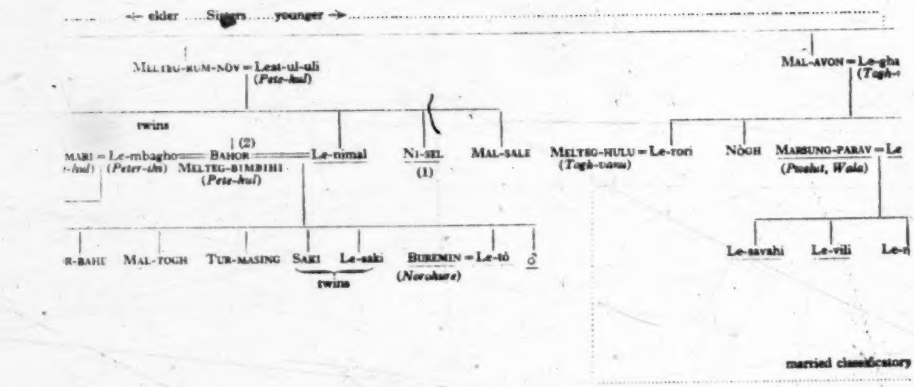
on Vao.

eted and in *Italics*.



[facing p. 587 (D)]

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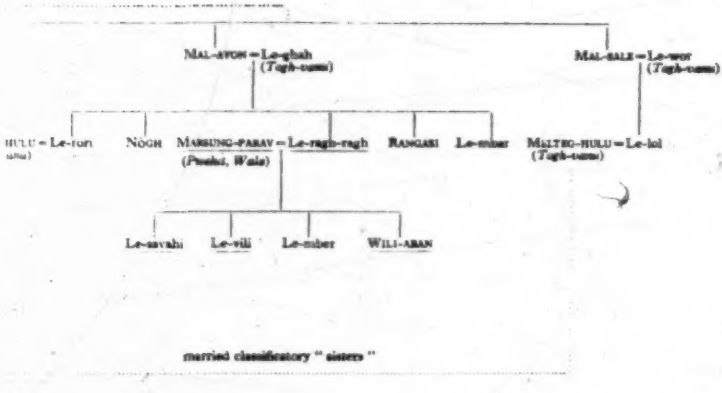

[facing p. 587 (E)]